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1975 - 2005

مذكرة لنيل شهادة الماجستير
مقدمة بقسم العلوم السياسية و العلاقات الدولية
فرع العلاقات الدولية

[illegible]: عمرون محمد

[illegible]: بوقارة حسين

[illegible]

1426 - 7142

2006

إهداء

- ✓ إلى الوالدين العزيزين أطال الله في عمرهما، واللذان كانا دعما وسندا لي طوال مشواري الدراسي.
- ✓ إلى إخوتي وأخواتي: وسيلة، سميرة، فاطمة الزهراء، نور الدين، كمال، سيدعلي.
- ✓ إلى إسلام، ليلى، ياسر ، فارس، زهير *براعم العائلة*
- ✓ إلى أستاذي المحترم "بوقارة حسين"، وكل من تتلمذت على يدهم دون استثناء.
- ✓ إلى رفقاء الدراسة: سمين أحمد، حميد رامي، مسعد سفيان، شايف بن علي جار الله،عبد الوهاب عمروش، بودي لمين.
- ✓ إلى الأصدقاء عبد الكريم، إبراهيم غانم، مرسي محمد، بدر غربي وكل الأحبة والأصدقاء دون استثناء.

عمرون محمد

شكر وتقدير

- ✓ بداية أشكر الله و أحمده عز وجل على أن وفقني لإتمام هذا العمل المتواضع:

⊆...ربي أوزعني أن أشكر نعمتك التي أنعمت عليّ وعلى والديّ وأن أعمل صالحا ترضاه وأدخلني برحمتك في عبادك الصالحين⊂ -الآية 19 من سورة النمل-

- ✓ إلى كل العائلة الكريمة وخصوصا الوالدين على دعمهم المتواصل لي.
- ✓ إلى أستاذي المشرف الدكتور "بوقارة حسين"، أتوجه بخالص شكري على توجيهاته القيمة ودعمه المعنوي المتواصل، فجزاه الله عني كل خير.
- ✓ إلى الأساتذة أعضاء لجنة المناقشة على جهدهم المشكور في إثراء هذا العمل المتواضع، والمساهمة في تصحيحه وتقويمه.
- ✓ إلى الأساتذة والصحفيين المشاركين في الاستبيان، من داخل الجزائر وخارجها.
- ✓ إلى منظمة الكشافة الإسلامية الجزائرية وعلى رأسها القائد العام السيد: نور الدين بن براهم، والمفوض الدولي السيد: مشاي عبد الكريم.
- ✓ إلى مسئولي الاتحاد الوطني للشبيبة الصحراوية على التسهيلات الكبيرة التي قدموها لي خلال زياراتي المختلفة لمخيمات اللاجئين الصحراويين، وعلى رأسهم أمينها العام السيد موسى سلمة.
- ✓ إلى كل من ساعدني ولو بالدعاء.

الطالب عمرون محمد

:KŒĢƒɦɥǿøŒŋ

hĐŭįĎ*Ž

Dƒž |ĮŊƒ ƥŬĘ..hǚ[illegible]Ɛ |Ę:ăơŊ[illegible]Ť ʓ*

Ĭ ǥťŬĘüüŕŒŬĘĐĎ[illegible]ŇǥŒŤ |ĘŬ[illegible]ž ĭŤ Ŋǰ:üŊŬĘüŤ ʑĘ*

Ĭ ǥŤĐ[illegible]ŬĘĂ|Ę

!...ƒ ŒŤ ĐŽ[illegible]Ŭ ƒ ƥčhǚ[illegible]Ɛ |Ę:üŊŬĘKŒĢ[illegible]

[illegible] ƒ ýŭ[illegible] ƒ Ă[SĂ [illegible] ƒ ĭ [illegible] ƒ y[illegible] Ŀ[illegible] ƒ [illegible] ƒ Ŀ[illegible] :ýĂŪƒ ɣ ĐŽ[illegible]

.Đ[illegible] [illegible] ƒ [illegible] ƒ SĂ[illegible] [illegible] :ŎĻ[illegible] ɣ ĐŽ[illegible]

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ƥŤ Đ[illegible] hǚ[illegible] ŬĘƒ Ɛ[illegible] ŬĘ:Ĭ ǥ[illegible]KŒĢ[illegible]

.YƒƨĿƒ [illegible] ƒ [illegible] ƒ ĭ [illegible] ƒ :ýĂŪƒ ɣ ĐŽ[illegible]

.Đž88- Đž76 ĭ Ăƒ[illegible] ƒ YƒƨĿ[illegible] :ŎĻ[illegible] ɣ ĐŽ[illegible]

.YƒƨĿƒ Ŏ5Ŏ[illegible] ƒ Ŀ[illegible] :ł !Ơƒ ɣ ĐŽ[illegible]

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مقدمة

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[illegible] 276 [illegible]

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[illegible] 275 [illegible] 91 [illegible] 291 [illegible]

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1 - [illegible] 80 [illegible]

2 - [illegible] Martine de froberville [illegible] **Sahara Occidentale la Confiance Perdue** [illegible] L'harmathan [illegible] 1996 [illegible] 1991 [illegible]

3 - [illegible] "Daniel Voltman [illegible] "**International dimensions of the western sahara conflit**" [illegible] 1993 [illegible]

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فصل تمهيدي:
الصحراء الغربية... الأرض والسكان

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[3] [illegible] 2004 [illegible] 7.
[4] [illegible] 2004/10/13 [illegible] 393 [illegible] 13.
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- 6 [illegible] http://www.moqatel.com [illegible] 2005 [illegible] 15.
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- 8 [illegible] 15.
- 9 [illegible] 9.

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[10] [illegible] www.alasr.ws [illegible] 25 [illegible] 2004 [illegible] .10
[11] - [illegible] .16
[12] [illegible] .10

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[13] - [illegible] .17[illegible]

[illegible] [14] [illegible]

[illegible] [15]

[illegible] [16] [illegible] [17]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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15 [illegible] 1980 [illegible] 72-73.

16 [illegible] 13.

17 [illegible] 01 [illegible] 2005.

[illegible]

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1. [illegible] 20 [illegible] 35 [illegible] 15 [illegible]

D. [illegible]

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2- [illegible]

3- [illegible]

4- [illegible]

5- [illegible]

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2 [illegible]

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2. [illegible]

D. [illegible]

[illegible]

3. [illegible]

D. [illegible]

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[18] [illegible] .18-17

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2. [illegible] [20]

3. [illegible] 56 [illegible] [21]

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[21] - [illegible] 19.

[illegible] .4

[illegible] 200 [illegible]

[22] [illegible].

[illegible] .5

[illegible]

[23] [illegible].

[illegible] .6

[illegible]

[illegible] .7

[illegible]

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[23] [illegible] .19

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[illegible] :

: [illegible]

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[illegible] 100 [illegible].

[illegible] "TONY Hodges"* [illegible] 0 [illegible] 0) [illegible] .[25]

[illegible] 8 [illegible].

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24 - [illegible] 20.

* [illegible] 82.

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ƚǎÅƥƚǂŞT Ï !ǫDž67 DŽ ĦǫǅǨ ǅǫǨǃ ýŭǭŖ ƒ ƽơ ƚǎǫǬŬƒ ƚǎǍǂơ!ƒ ǨơǈǫǅǨǨǄÂ

ƨǅǅdžƒ ƒŔŊǰǨǭDǅǅŬǫ ǓǎǫǬŬÅ ƚǎǫǬŬÅ ƚǭ ǈǫǄÂ ƚǂǭŞdžƒ ǨǄŞT!ƒ Ư ƶƕǈǫǅǈÅǂƙ

ǓŞŬÅƥ ǈÅǎǅǅ.5 ǈŞƥ ýǅǅ ƬŞƕǓǅǂơ ŞƒƙǑƙƒ ƚǎǫǬŬƒ ƚǎǅƒ ƚǂŞT!ƒ ǅǅǈǫǏ !ǫǨƥǅÅ

ƚƼǅǅǂƵǅ!ƒ ǑƼǨǅ ÅƼǈǓ ǑǭDý|ǈǫ|| ŞơǅǅǓǅŞT Ï DŽǈÅǅ!ƒ" ǅǅǅǅ !ǫǨǅ Åǂƒ ý|ǈǫDǂƙ

ǓǅǅÅǅǏ ŞǅǅǈǓ200 ý|ǈǂǫǅƕŞƥ ƦǅǅŞơƕǅǅǅǅǅǅǅ|| !ǂ ǓǈÅǅ!ƒÅ ǇƒŞǂÅƕǈǫƕǂ60

ƽŞǓ!ƒ Ư ƶƕǨƥǅ ǅǅ ǓD72 DŽ ýǅTǨƒ ƬǅÅ ǓǈǓ ǈÅǎǅǅ3-9 ǈǫƕǅÅƒŞƙƚǎÅǫ ƚǫǅǅÅ

.ýŭǭŖ Ŭƒ ǨǅǅǅǑƼ DǨƒ ƔŊƕƚǎƒŞǅƒ ƨǂƒŞǅƒ Ư ƶƕŞÅƞǫ Ï DŽǅǅǅ ǅǅǅǅǎÅƒŞơ!ƒ

ƚƞǫƥ ǈǂ! .ǨǫǅÅǂƒ ǓǨǅǓ Ǒǭǅ!ƒ ƨǂŞǅƒ ǅǨ ǑǨƒ ǇƒŞǂÅƕƚǈǫǅǅǂƒŞǅƒ || ǅǅŊƞƞDǈǫǅ

ŞǅǨÏ !ǫǎ ƥǅǅǅǅǅơ ŞǅǫǑƼ|| ŞơǅǅǓǅŞT!ƒ ƴƒÅǅǅǅƒ ǨǅǅǅƯ ƶƕǨǅƥÅŞǅǎÅ!ƥ

.[26]ǓƒŞPŖ Ŭƒ ǨǅǅǅǅŽ

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ǓǎŞǭ!ƒ ǅŞơ!ƒ ýơƒÅ ǑƼǓǫ!Å ƨǅƒ ǈǅǅǅǅÅŞPǅÅƞÅ Ï !ǫǨǅƒŞƥƒ Ư ƶƕŞǅǨ

ǨǄŞT Ư ƶƕǨƥǅǅ ƚ ǒơ .[27]ƥƥ !ƒ ƒŔŊǰǑƼƚǎǅǅŊǅǈǈŬƒ Ï ǨơŞƞǫǨDǅƔǫǈǅƒ ƥÅƞ ǈǂ!

ǅǅƼƟÅǅǅǅƽǓǅǅǅǅǅǅǈǅ1958 DŽ ǅǅǅǨŞƥǅǈDǅǅƕŊǂƔǫǈǅƒ Ï !ǫƚǎǅƒ Ǔǫ!ƒ

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ǨǅǈǂǓǅ ǅǓP ǨǅǅŖƒ ƔǫǈÅ ƻ ǅǂŖƒ ǨǅǅǅƕƚǎǅǨǄŞT Ư ƶƕǨǅǅ ýƶǭǅǅ

.ƚǅT!ƒ ǅǅǅǅ

ƻ T!ƒ ýǅǅǅƕƚǎǫǬDǨǄŞT ƚ ǓƺÅ ƚǂǭŞǅǨǄŞT ƴǨ ǨǅǅD61 DŽ ǑƼ

ǓǓ ÅŞǭǅǅƚǭǅ ǨŬƒ ƥÅ!ƒ ǅǅǫýŬP ǈǅǅǫǬŬƒ ƚǎǍǂơ!ƒ ƴǒƞT|| !ŖÏ DŽǅǅǅǅ Ǔ ƔǫǈǅÅ

ƚǅ ǅǅŞǨǅÅ ǓǓŊǅǅ ƔǫǈǅǨǅǈǈǅǅƕƚǎƞǓƒ ýƒÅdžƒ Σ ÅǅŞ ƻ ǒǓÅǨƯ ŞǨǨǄ ǑǨƒ

ƽǨǑDǅǨǄŞT!ƒ ǈŔŊǰDǅƔǅ ǈƒǰ !ǫǨƥDǓǎǫǅƚǭ ǅ ƔǅDǈǅ ǅǓ ƼǓǅǅƕǈÅǎǅǅ Ǔ

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.20 ƭ ǓǂŖƽƞ ƴƞŞǅǅǅƒƥǅ ǈƕǈǅǅƕƥǅ - [26]

.11 ƭ ǓǂŖƽƞ ƴƞŞǅǓǎƒŞơ !ƒƚǒ|!ƒ ǓƔǨǄ ǈÅƥ- [27]

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.[28] [illegible] 446 [illegible]

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4 : [illegible]

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-28 [illegible] 21.

-29 [illegible] 11.

ÜĦž1400 NĴĂƱ ƩDŽǑŽýơĜhǕDŽǃƒ ǑƼŧǒơƗƥ ƾƱǕƌǃž Ǐ ŁǆDŁƥǆžýơƒǺ !ƒ ǀĦNjƧHǮǎĂ
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ǆǃž.NǕDŽŽă ŀǆǀǀǑǀƒ ||ǆǕŽǕƒ ýĂǕǆǕƼŁǺŧǒ YǕǃƒ ǑƼƥĂŋĂǆǃž'ŁǺŧŁǕƗƥ YǕƧƒ ƠǒǒǆǃǕǆǃž
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Ǐ DŽŽ Ƨơƥƥ ƥǒŢ !ƒ ƐŁǃǺǆǃDŽǕ!ǒǆǕƱĂ ƧĂƥŋĂǕ ŁǆǕƱƥƒĂ ŁǺǕž!ƒ" ƥǆƵǕƐŁǃǺǆǃž ŁǷ ǆǕž
KƒƥơĂ ŁǆžKǆǕǃǺ ƥǒŢ !ƒ KǆǕǆǕŧƱǆǃž KƒƧǒǆǀƒ ŁǆǃǕǆǕ!ƒ DŽžǀŧ ǒơ ÜǕǺƧơŢ !ƒ ýơƒǺ !ƒ
ǀĦNjǕǆǀŧ ǒơ ÜƥǒŢ !ƒ Łǆ ŁǆžKǆǕž ýƗƥǆ ǀĂ ŧǒơƗƥ KǆǀǆǃǕ ŁǕPǀĂ ƥǆǆǀĂ ýǒŢ ǀĂ ŧŋ!ǆǃž
.[31] ǆǕƱ ǆǆǕǆǃǕǕŧǕǆǃž!ƒ ǀĂƧǮƒ

:ƕƨǕǀƐƐNǀƐƼ

– DŽǕǆǕŽŧǒǆǕƒ ŧ|ƱǆǃǕ ǑƼ Ǐ Ʊ ĂƒĂ ŧǒǆǕƒ ŁǆǀƱǆǃǕ ǑƼŧǒƒĂơ!ƒ ǀĂƧǮƒ ƨŧƧǀǀ
ƩŢǕ ƨ !D33.6 ýǆǕǃ!ƒ DŽŽŢǕ ƨ !D320 DŽǆǕǕƒ ǆǆǕǕŽ ŢǕ ƨ !D380 ƨǆǕǆǃǕ ƥǆ ƩDŽǒŽƧǆǕǃƒ
"ǕƧǆǕƒ ŧǒǆǕ!ƒ – ŁǺǕž!ƒ" Ǐ Ʊ Ăƒ ŧ|ƱǆǃǕ ǆǕǕƧǆǕƒ ŁǆǃƩ ŢǕ 1443 ăǺ ƥŋĂǒǕ ŁǆơǑƼ
ƨ !D120 DŽǆǕǕƒ ǆǆǕǕŽ ŢǕ ƨ !D193 ǆǍƥƥǆǀƩDŽǕƨǆǕǆǃž ǆǕǕƩ ŢǕ ƨ !D89.5 ýǆǕǃ!ƒ ƥǆ ƩDŽǕ
.Ʊ|ƼǕŢǕ 440 ƨĂǆǀǕƼƧǆǕƒ ǆǕǕƩ ŢǕ

ŀǆžǕǺƼDŁǆǀƒ ŁǆǕ DŽǆ ǒǆ ƧƥŢ ǆǃžƼǀǑǀƒ KƒǺƧǮƒ DŽǕă ƥơƍƥǆǀŧǒǆǕDŽŽ ǀĂƧǮƒ ǀĦNj
.DŽǆǕǆǃǕ ǆǆǕǕĂŧǕƗƥ ƠŢ DŽǆǕ ǀƥǆǕ ŁǺƧƥ

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31- [illegible] 10.

32- [illegible] 10.

33 [illegible] 1998 [illegible] 9.

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[illegible] [35] (05 [illegible]).

34- [illegible] 12.

35- [illegible] 13.

الفصل الأول:

توصيف النزاع الصحراوي من الاحتلال الإسباني إلى التواجد المغربي

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[illegible] 273 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 36 [illegible] .[36]

[illegible]

[illegible]

36 [illegible] .9

[illegible] .[37] [illegible]

[illegible] .

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[37] [illegible] www.aljazeera.net [illegible] 03 [illegible] 02 [illegible] .2
[38] [illegible] .33
[39] [illegible] .32
[40] [illegible] .2

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[illegible] .[42]

[illegible] 67 [illegible] 89 [illegible] .[43]

[illegible] 58 [illegible] 59 [illegible].

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[41] [illegible] .34-33 [illegible]

[42] - [illegible] 1997 [illegible] .24 [illegible]

[43]-VADE Mecum, La question du Sahara occidentale, www.mae.dz, (12/08/2005), P 2.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 40 [illegible] 58 [illegible]
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[illegible]
[illegible].

[illegible]
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44- [illegible]
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45 [illegible] .34

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[illegible] .[46]

[illegible] .[47]

[illegible] 1900 [illegible]

[illegible]

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46 - Martine de Froberville, Op.cit, P. 26.

[illegible] [48].

[illegible] 02 [illegible] 26 [illegible] 12 [illegible] 902.

[illegible] 04 [illegible] 03 [illegible] 12 [illegible] 27 [illegible] 27 [illegible] 40 [illegible] 40 [illegible] 27 [illegible].

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[48] [illegible] .05

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01 - [illegible] Enclave [illegible]
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02 - [illegible].

03 - [illegible].

04 - [illegible][51].

49 - [illegible] 172.

50 - Martine de Froberville, op. cit, P.27.

51 - [illegible] 176.

[illegible][52] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 255-253 [illegible] 256 [illegible][53]

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[53] [illegible] 178.

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[54] .177 [illegible]

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[illegible] 274 [illegible].

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· [illegible] 1882 [illegible] 886 [illegible].

[57] - [illegible] .182

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[58] [illegible]

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58 [illegible] .35-34

59 [illegible] .12

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60 - [illegible] 4.
61 - [illegible] 36.

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- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible] [63]

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[62] [illegible] .264

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[illegible]

[illegible] 936 [illegible]

[illegible] 905 [illegible]

[illegible] 10 [illegible]

[illegible] 12 [illegible]

[illegible]

63- [illegible] 2.

64- Frente Polisario, L'A.L.P.S de la colonisation espagnole ….a l'agression marocaine, Algérie : reghaia, 1980), P.27.

65 [illegible] 101.

[illegible] 16 [illegible]

[illegible] 18 [illegible].

[illegible] 34 [illegible]

[illegible] 57 [illegible]

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[illegible] 970 [illegible] 17 [illegible]

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66 - [illegible] 26.

67 [illegible] 30.

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[illegible] -3

[illegible] -4

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[illegible]

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-[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible][69] .

[illegible] "MLS" [illegible] 273 [illegible] 0 [illegible] [70] [illegible] 0 [illegible]

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68 - [illegible] 41 -42.

69 - Benjamin Stora, Akram Illyas, Op cit, p.270.

[illegible] 1973

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[illegible]

[illegible] 1970 [illegible] "Polisario" [illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible] 1973 [illegible]

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2 - [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [73]. [illegible]

[illegible]

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71 - [illegible] 1978 [illegible] 46.

72 - [illegible] 32.

73 - [illegible] 45.

[74] - Paul Balta, Le grand Maghreb des l'indépendances a l'ans 2000, Alger: L'aphomic, 1990, p. 172.

[illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]

2 - [illegible]

3 [illegible] [77]

[illegible]

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[illegible] 1975 [illegible]
[illegible].[78]

3292 [illegible] (XXIX) [illegible] 13 [illegible] 1974 [illegible]
[illegible] 1975 [illegible].[79]

[illegible] 1975 [illegible] 1975 [illegible]
[illegible].[80] 1975

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01- [illegible]
[illegible].

02- [illegible]
[illegible].[81]

[illegible]
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78- Hafida Amyar ,Sahara Occidental, que veut l'ONU, (Alger, Casbah édition, 2001), p. 25.

79 [illegible] www.creima.net 2003/10/13 [illegible] 1.

80 [illegible] 3.

[illegible]

81 - Martine de froberville, Op. cit, p. 50.

82 - [illegible] 1986, p. 119.

83 [illegible] p. 40.

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[illegible] 14 [illegible] 13 [illegible].

[illegible] (XV)1514 [illegible] [85] [illegible] (02 [illegible]).

[illegible].

[illegible] 1975 [illegible] [86].

[85] Rapport ONU, Objectif justice ,publication des Nations Unie ,N° 04 ,SD, p.15.

[86] [illegible] 3.

[87] [illegible]

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89 - Stephen Zunes, The United States And The Western Sahara Peace Process, Journal Middle East Policy, Vol 5, Issue 4, 1998, P 131.

90 - [illegible] 129.

91 - [illegible] 3.

[illegible] 1976 [illegible] 528 [illegible]
[illegible]
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!1988- !1976 [illegible]

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92 - [illegible] .78
93 - [illegible] .74

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01 [illegible] (1979 -1980) [illegible] 1979 [illegible] [95] [illegible]

02 [illegible] (1980 -1991) [illegible]

94 - [illegible] .4 [illegible]

95 - Paul Balta ,Op.cit, p.177.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[96] - Martine de Froberville, Op. cit, p. 89.

[illegible] 200.000 [illegible]
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[illegible] " [illegible] 91 [illegible] .[99]

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* [illegible] 05 [illegible]
Hafida Ameyar, Op.cit, p.5.

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[99] - Martine de Froberville, Op. cit, p 90.

Kƒ͡ǁŀƒŽǗ ƶhǁ ǁǀǀŀjKˈLǂ NǁǗg Ăǂ͡ǁǁĂłƒĂ ɣSƷdǂ LǁhƖSƒƒǀ KˈLǂ ǑǁƒɣSo!ƒ DƷŽĂ
LǁǀƶhKƒǁŀƒŽƶ ʎǂǁk ǗKˈǁǁĂ!ƒ Ĭ DƶŽLǁǀƶdǁǁǁýǁ ƦǗƒ KƒĂLƒĂ|ƷǁDƚ ǒơ Ǘǒơ Ăǁƒ
.Lǁhǁ!ƒ Ĭ DƶŽ+ǒ ǁ!ƒĂ +ǁǁdǂ ɣSo!ƒ ǁǁD Kˈƒƒƶƒ

Ăǂ͡ǁǒĂłƒĂ ɣSƷdǂ Lǁh+ǒʅ Kƒǁ ǁƶ KˈSȠ LǁDDƶ278 Dǂ KˈLǂ5 +ǁǁ!ƒ ǁǁ
ǁǁǂĂdžydž+ǂǁ ǁǁ5 KˈǁĂǁdǂ ǁǒD KˈLǂ ǑǁƒlSkƒ ǑNǁĂ+ǁǁ +ǒdǂ +dǂ ǁǁ
ɣSƷdǂ ýƶȠ +ǁj!ƒ ǁRNjƧPƒĂDǑ5 "LǁĂhǔ SƒĂNj ĭ SƒƒƶȠ!ƒ Ʃ ǁ!ƒ lǁĂ LǁǗg ǗĂǂ͡ǁǒĂłƒĂ
Sǁdž DƶŽǁĂdžƒ ǁƶhƧǑǁ ǒ ǗLǁĂhƶƒƒƶȠ" ǁƶhǁžSĂʅ Ơǐ ǁk ǁǁ KˈǁǁǁǂǁRNjƶ ƿĂǒ
ǗǒƒƒƶȠ!ƒ +dǂ ǁǁǁǁǁǁ ă SȠ LǁDDƶ283 ýǁ5D+ǒǂ Ĭ !gLǁƧǑ!ƒ LǁhƧTǁǂ ýǁ ƦǗƒ
KƒǁŀƒŽǁRNjĭ DƶŽýĂ|!ƒ Lǂdžǁ ǗDƶ285 Ǒǁǁ Ǒ5+ǒǁǁ!ƒ "+LĂhǗ" ù hƧPcĭ Sʅ ǁǁ ǁǁk
ƽ ǁDǁĂǂ͡ǁǒĂłƒ Ǒ!Ăʅ džǁ ǁǁǑƶdǂ ƶ SǑ!ƒ +!ĂǁdĂ SǗLƒ Kˈǁ ĂƟSǑ ă Ăʅ Lǂk Dƶǁǁ
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sǁǁ ǁǁǐ ƶhǗǁRƶdžDƷƒĂƶ Ǒ5 lǁǁƶ KˈǗǁ ǁ KˈSȠ" :NĂ|hKƒǁŀƒŽǁRNjDƶ296 KˈĂD15 DĂǒ
|| Dǂ ǁǁǗǁĂǐ Ădž Lǂ ǁǁǁýǁĂ ǗKƒǁdƒĂ +ǒ ǁo!ƒ ǁǁT Lǂ ǁǐ ƶĂ ǗƧkĂƒĂ ýǁǁǁ
ǘƶ5.." :NǁhDƶ284 ĭ Sǁ510 Ǒ5+ǒ Lǁ!ƒ "ǁĂdĂ" lǁSȠ! ƟSʅ ǁ5 "ǑLǁ Lʅ o!ƒ" Ǒǁƶdǂ
Dǂ LǁǁLj ýhǗDǂdžǗ ĂǁDŽĂƶ dŽǁǁ ƭ ǁTǗƒ ||ƒĂǗ ýĂ|Lj Ʃ ǒ Lǂ!Ă ǗýǁƦǗƒ DǂŽ
.[100]" ...Dǁǁƶdž

ǗǁǁǁĂ ƷĬ ƨ ƒDNǁDǁǁ hǗNǁƟT |ǁhNǁKǁRǁƒ ǂLDǂ

Ĭ DƶŽ ƶ ǁǁdǂ ƶ ƒƧǑǗƒ KˈDƶ ýhǗʅ o5+ǒǂʅ ƶ ǁơ Lǂǒ DƚǒƧƶ!ƒ ǁƧoʅ !ƒ YƒƨLLg
|| SokĂ Ǘƶǁ LǗƒ Dǂ ýĂǁ ă ǁĂ ǁǁ5g Ăǂ͡ǁǒĂłǁ +ǁǁ Kǂ So5 ǗKˈǁLǁƒĂ ýĂǁƒ ǁǁk ɣʅ ǂ
LǗƶg LǁdžýƶȠ ǁj ǗYƒƨL!ƒ ƒRNjǑ5 Ǒʅ ǁǁǁƒ Lƒǁdǂ+ǒǁĂ +|ǁơ DǁĂ Ǘǁƨ Ă ǁƧ ɣSƷdǂ
"SkǁĂǁǁkƒ" +hǁdžDƶ276 +ǁj +ǑǁƧ|dǁƒ +ǒĂƒSoʅ !ƒ +ǒǁƶ!ƒ +ǒĂnjdǂ!ƒ Dǁ Ăǂ͡ǁǒĂłǁ +ǁǁ
Yǁǁƒ Ĭ DƶŽ Nǁǁǁ ă ǁdĂ ǗǒĂǁƒ +oǁ!ƒ Ĭ DƶŽ Nǁǁơ Ʃ ǁǁ Ǒ5-ĭ SǁǁǒĂłƒ Ǒǁƶdǂ ƶ SǑ ýǂ!
:ýǒʅ ǁkƒ LǁdžǑThǁ ǁo!ƒ ƒRNjǁǁƨhǁ ƒR ǗǑdžǁƒ ǁǁǁkƒ ɣʅ ǂĂ

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100 - [illegible] 81-82.
101 - [illegible] 20.
102 - [illegible] 83.

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103 - [illegible] 45.

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[illegible] 70 [illegible] 06 [illegible] 04 [illegible] 05 [illegible] .(06 [illegible]

[illegible]

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[105] - [illegible] .48 [illegible]

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108 [illegible] .05

[illegible]

[illegible] .[109] [illegible]

[illegible] (288- [illegible] 275) [illegible]

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[109] [illegible] 1985- 1945 [illegible] 2002 [illegible] NEP [illegible] .305

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[110] [illegible] 1986 [illegible] .91

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3254 [illegible] 2229 [illegible]

[illegible] 275 [illegible] 265 [illegible] 2983 [illegible] 2428 [illegible]

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02- [illegible].

111- [illegible] 110.

112- [illegible] 92،93.

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[illegible] 78 [illegible]

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- [illegible]

- [illegible]

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[illegible] 51 [illegible]

[illegible] .1514 [illegible]

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[116] [illegible] .170 - 169

[illegible] .[117] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 279 [illegible] 284 [illegible] 288 [illegible]

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117 [illegible] 171-172.

118 [illegible] 6.

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[illegible]

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[illegible] [120] [illegible] 286

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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119 [illegible] .04

120 [illegible] 2005 – 1975 [illegible] 40/2005 [illegible] 2005/03/30 http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/analisis/711.asp .2

* [illegible]

[illegible]

.[121]([illegible] 273 [illegible] 270 [illegible]) [illegible]

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[illegible] .[123] [illegible]

[illegible]:

- 1 [illegible].

- 2 [illegible].

- 3 [illegible].

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121 - [illegible] 1991 [illegible] 12 [illegible] 498 [illegible] 56.

122 - [illegible] 37.

123 - [illegible] 201.

4 - [illegible] [124]

5 - [illegible]

6 - [illegible] [125]

[illegible]

1. [illegible]

2. [illegible]

3. [illegible]

4. [illegible]

5. [illegible]

6. [illegible]

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[illegible]

1- [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [126]

[illegible] 267 [illegible]

[illegible] [127]

[illegible] 273 [illegible]

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126 - [illegible] 946 [illegible] 2002 [illegible] .7

127 [illegible] 2 [illegible] .2

[128]

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263 272 19

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Algérophobie*

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128 .3

* Phobie

[illegible] 295 [illegible] 275 [illegible] phobie [illegible]

[illegible] 5 [illegible]

[illegible] 6 [illegible] 78) [illegible] 30 [illegible]

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129 [illegible] 268 [illegible] 269.

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1 - [illegible]

2 - [illegible] (Le M.P.A.I.A) [illegible]

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3- [illegible]

4- [illegible]

05- [illegible]

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[illegible] 05 [illegible] 1979 [illegible][132]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1- [illegible]

2- [illegible]

[illegible] 1978 [illegible][133]

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[illegible]

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[illegible] 75 [illegible] 3 [illegible] 1 [illegible] [135]

[illegible]

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[illegible] [138] [illegible]

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[illegible] 91 [illegible] [139]

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141 [illegible] 412 [illegible] 20 [illegible] 2000 [illegible] .3

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[illegible] 1975 [illegible] .[142]

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142 - [illegible] 1975 – 2005 [illegible] .3

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الفصل الثاني:

المسار الدبلوماسي لتسوية نزاع الصحراء الغربية

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3. [illegible]

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145 - [illegible] 48.

[illegible]

2- [illegible]

3- [illegible]

4- [illegible]

5- [illegible] [147].

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[146] [illegible] 113.

[147] [illegible] 146.

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[151] [illegible] .115 - 114

[152] - [illegible] .54

[153] - [illegible] .89

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[illegible] - 03

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.12 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] 76 [illegible] -158

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[160] - Martine de froberville, op.cit, p p 106,107.

[illegible]

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[illegible] .[164]

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[165] [illegible] 5.

[166] - [illegible] 112.

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[167] - [illegible] 68.

[168] - [illegible] 109.

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[169] [illegible] 69.

[170] [illegible] 110.

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ب. [illegible]

ج. [illegible] 1975/377 [illegible] 75/379.[171]

8. [illegible] 3458 [illegible] 10 [illegible] 75:

أ. [illegible] 14 [illegible] 1975.

ب. [illegible] 15/1514.

ج. [illegible] 14 [illegible] 1975 [illegible].

171- [illegible] 1975/380 [illegible] www.onu.org [illegible] 8 [illegible] 2004 [illegible] 10

LJŏŏĂĵƒƧơƮ !ƒ LĴĝƪ !ƒ yŏŏłƶ LĴǂdƙ Ƴǂdǎǖ!ƒ Ƨŏĵĵŏƙƒ yŏŏłƶ ƘƠƘƒ ǂƙŏďdƶ lƧĵĵǕƒ ĂŋƧƙ .ƥ

Nŷŏ ǕlƥŏƙdƶDŏǖ! ýƛdǎlƥƶƬdǎDǎƙǰ ǕlƧơ lƧƠƦƪƒ ǯŏƧƱ LƵ ǕƊŏƥǖ! LĵŏƙdƶƵ

.[172] lƥŏƙdƶDŏǖ! Dǆƒ LĵŏǉŠĵ

LƊƥƶŋƴ !ǂĂ ǕǂŏĂĵƒ ýƥǆƒ ǂdǆŏdǎ ƧƠƘƪ Ǘƒ Ǐ Ʈ!ƒ ƧĂƥƮ ƥƶŋǖƧĵƧ|!ƒ ĵƘNjƘƠƘƒ DĂ

LƵ ýǖ|ƘǗƒ ǑƱǂǑƠƥǕƒ ƇƧơƮ !ƒ LĴĝƪ ǂŋƧ ǕDǎ75 ƧŋĂǂDǑƱƧƠǆƘǗƒ ǂǑƮ ƙǂLŋ! KƧƧƥ

Ƨ ĵƧƮǗ! ǕƠǆƧĂƮ ŋǕlƥŏƙdƶDŏǖƒ ƥĂŋĂ lƧĂƧƱ ŋǂLŋDƶKƮ ĂDƠǆǕƔ ƧƺdǆĂ ƠƠƥĂdǆLŏǆǂ

. ƇƧơƮ !ƒ LŏǆƠƠƥDƔ ƠƪLĵǏ DƵ

ǑƱǂǑƠƥǆŏǆƶƱƥĂƥƧ || ƠNjƘLƠ ǕŏŋĂƧǑLǑƱǂǑƧƱǕƒ ǂdǆ KƒƧƒƧƥƘǑƘǰǑƱƧƴƘƒ ǂŋǑLĂ

ǕŏŋĂƧǑLǑƱǂǑƧƱǕƒ ǂdǆ KƒƧƒƧƥĂ ǕǂǑƧƱǕƒ ǂǑƘǰƘƒ ǂLŋDƶKƒƧƒƧƥ KƮƥĂLĵƘƱ ǕlƥŏƙdƶDŏǖƒ

KƒƧƒƧ|!ƒ lĵƘNjKƧŋǆƒ ƠǆǗƤĂ ǕlƥŏƙdƶDŏǖ! ǂdǆƒ ǂǆdǆDƵĵǕƛĵĂ ǂƶƘ!ƒ lƧĂƥĵ ƥƠǂĵĵƠƠDǑƱ

Lŏǆǂ! ǕĂƶƥĵ ǂdǆƒ ǂǆdǆƒ KŋŋĂ || !ƘĂ ǕǂǑƧƺ!ƒ ƇƧơƮ !ƒ ǑƱ ƇƘƪ Ǘƒ ƇƧŋǗ Σ ƬǗƒ ǑNj

Ǐ ŋǰƱ ƠƘƒ Ǐ !ƍýƮ ĂƘƒ Ƨ ƥŋŋlƧƮƠŏǆKƠ ĂƠǆǑƱ ýĂƤƥƠǕĂƧƬǑĂŋƥǂŋĂ ǂǑƧƺdǆǂǂDǆƶ

ǕĂƧƬǑĂŋƥǂŋƥ ydǆlƧƮƠŏǆKƠ ĂƠǆƇƧŋǗ ƔƧƺdǆ Ư ƧƧ ƔƥŋǕLǂ!Ă .ƠDǆƶ YƒƧƮ !ƒ

ƇƧŋƍlƧĂƧƱ KƥǂDĂ ǕǂǑƧƱǕƒ lƥĂƒ ǂdǆLŏǆydǆ DŏǆƶLĂƠƘƒ Ǐ DƵƠǆƶ lƥŏƙdƶDŏǖƒ KLƶƊ

ǂƁƵdǆƥŏƙdƶDŏǖƒ KƧŋǆƒ ƠƵ Ǖ|ƱLǆƶ Ǐ !ƍDǆ !ƒ lƥĂǖ! ǗƒƧLĵ ǑƱƧƱ LĵŋlƧƮƠŏǆKƠ ĂƠǆ

.ƧƠǆƘƒ ǂǑƮ ƙǂǑƱ ƥǂǑƧƺ!ƒ ƇƧơƮ !ƒ

Dǆƒ LĵŏǉŠĵ LŏǆƔDǆ ǕDǎ83 Ƨŋƶŏƥ 07 ǑƱ ĵƧƒƧƥ ă ƧƤDlƧdǆdǆƒ ǂǆdǆƒ ƧƥƮ ƙ

ýƮ ƍdǆƧ|ƙDǆƘĂ ƇƘƪ Ǘƒ DǆǰǑƱlƥŏƙdƶDŏǖ! ǂ!ƠƱǂƧƠdǆLŏǆǂdǎǖ!ƒ KƒƇƧŋǗƒ ƘƠƘƒ

.[173] ǑlĂĵƒ LŏǉŠĵ Σ DƥǆĂǂdǆƒ ǂǆdǆDƵ

5 ǑƱ41/39 Dǆ!ƒ ƧƒƧ|!ƒ ƧƥƮ ǕlƥŏƙdƶDŏǖ! ǂdǆƒ ǂǆdǆDƵĵǕƛĵĂ ǂƶƪ Ƙƒ lƧĂĵƒ ǑƱĂ

:ǑƊǆƶ DƵKƥǂDNǰƤĂ ǕDǎ84 Ƨŋƶŏƥ

.ƧƠǆƘƒ ƇƠǰǂǑƱ ƥǂǑƧƺ!ƒ ƇƧơƮ !ƒ ǂƁƵdǆƠǆƒ .1

.71-70 ƒ ƒ ǕƧǂƘƱ ŋƥ yŋƧdǆƶǆƒ ƥǆ LŋǕƠDǆ Lŋ ƠƘ - [172]

.112 ƒ ǕƧǂƘƱ ŋƥ yŋƧdǆƥĂƪ dƵNƱ - [173]

2. [illegible] AHG/RES.104-XIX [illegible]
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1. [illegible].

2. [illegible].

3. [illegible].

4. [illegible]
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1. [illegible]

2. [illegible]

3. [illegible]

4. [illegible]

5. [illegible]

6. [illegible]

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[174] [illegible] .73

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[175] [illegible] 75.

[176] [illegible] 112-113.

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[*] [illegible] Le Minurso [illegible]

[177]- Martine de froberville, op.cit, p.p 121-125.

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[illegible] 1

[illegible] 2

[illegible] 974 [illegible] 3

[illegible] 4

[illegible][178]

[illegible]

[illegible] 974 [illegible]

[illegible] 120 000 [illegible]

[illegible] 974 [illegible][179]

[illegible] 170 000 [illegible]

[illegible] 991 [illegible] 13 [illegible]

[178] - Ibid, p 139.

[179] - [illegible] 2001 [illegible] 203.

"Ăŏ۲Ꞔ ďĂhŋ" Ŏư ۲k LĴD Lǂdŏ ŎƘƒ Ĭ DŽďŋ ǂ|ŏ۲Ʊ!ƒ ƓŋLǂhɿ ǁ!Ʀ
.ǂďĂɒ!ƒ ǂƵĂdǭdŋĂ

ǉƓŋk DžƓ ƻ ɒĂdž ƦƓŭƤƘƓhɿ lɒơkdŋ DžŽƒ "ƨLƓŊĂŋ" Ɣ!ƓƱ Ɠǂ
ƒƦŊĂ Dž991 ۲hdƘŋ 6 ƦLǭdž ۲ƓĹǉƒ ƽŭƱƍ ƻ ɒĂ! ǂŏ۲ǂƮ ƶ!ƒ ƘƓĂ۲Ƥ!ƒ
LĴdžƘLƓǂ ƘƓĂ۲Ƥ!ƒ ǉƦǋ DŊĴD LĴD Ɠư ĂdžÜDžƮ!ƒ ۲Ꞔ džɒŏ|ƶk Ĭ ɒƓƘ!
ǂŏ۲ǂƮ Ƶ ۲ŏƺ ă ۲ƤƊƘƓĂ۲ƤhɿDƓ ŊŋƥơĬ Ʀ!ƒ ɒDŋ ƒƦǋÜƔ۲ƺdŋ ƻ ۲Ʊ
.lɒŏɒŋ!ƒ ƇƒƨưƤ!ƒ l۲ŏƮ džƓhɿƻ ۲ƶŏ ƓĹhɿƓ ƓƊǂ|DžƘdŋĂ

ŎdďŽƒ DŽ!ƒ LĴŏdŽƒ yưƤ "ƨLƓdž ƘƓƮ Ăk YƓƘŋ Ư ĂƵ Lǂ!
LĴŏƟƓĹǉƒ DŋĂɒ Džhɿ ýhûƣ ǂŏơ ǂŏhƏƺdŋ Ɣ!ƓƱdĐŽ "۲ŭŏĂǂĂɒ"
- Dž991 ۲hdƺŏɒ 19 Ŏ5Ă ÜƐŏƤŰƒ ƒƦǋ ƻ ۲Ʊ LĴdžǂdɒ|dŋ LĴŏƼƓưŰƒ
DŎɒ -ŎdďŽƒ DŽ!ƒ LĴŏdŽƒ lɒnƵ ƇƓŋƘLǉ LĴdžLĴŏƵĂhƥD LĴdžýɒD ýhɒĂ
ǂ5Ɠư ƎhɿŎƮ Ăŏ ƽơDĐŽyhƓ!ƒ Ƈƨŋ!ƒ Ŏ55 ÜYƒƨLǉƒ ýĂơ ƓƑƓŋLǉƒ۲ŏ۲|k
Ƈƒ۲ơƮ!ƒ Ŏ5 ƒĂdƓD DǯĴD Ĭ DŽ ýɒk ƽƑƓĂ LĴĂdɒ|ŏ LĴŏƦ!ƒ ƭ ƓƬŰƒ
ÜDž974 ۲hdƺŏɒ LĴdžƇƒɒƘhɒ ƘƒĂLǉ ƘƮ lɒdž l۲dƮ džǂ|ŏ۲ƱhɿǂŏhƏƺ!ƒ
ŎLƓƥŰƒ ƔƓƮ LǕƒ ýhɒ DŽɒŰƒ Ŏ5ǂƶƱ|kdžǂLǉ 12 lɒdžƒĂưɒ LĴŏƦ!ƒ ĂD
.ŊǉǭdŽ

DŎɒ "ƨLƓdž ƘƓƮ Ăk Ɠƻǂ Ʀ Ɠǂ ýŊƓŋk Ĭ Ʀ!ƒ ÜƐŏ۲|Ƙ!ƒ ۲Ăɒ Ʈ ɒƶhɿ
۲ŏ۲|k Ĭ DŽ Ʋơŭŏ ƓĂ Ü[180] Dž991 ۲hdƺŏɒ 20 DĂŏ ŊƘ!ƓƦƮ ƒ ۲ŏƤŰƒ ƒƦǋ
۲Ꞔ dž ۲ĂǂD ǉɒŏ|ƶkĂ ǂƶhƘdŋ ǂŏhƏƺdŋ ǂƮ ƓƮ DŽŊƘ۲ŏƓdžĂǋ "۲ŭŏĂǂĂɒ"
.[181]LĴŏĂƒ۲ơƮ!ƒ LĴŏƟƓĹǉƒ ǂŏĂǋɒŏɒơk ƭ ĂƮ Ƥ!ƓĂ ǂŏĂƮ Ƙ!ƒ

Ĭ DŽ ŎLĴùk ǂơƑŰ LĴdŽƒ Ʃ DŋdžƨɒƮD Dž991 ۲hdƺŏɒ 31 Ŏ5
ŊƘƓƒ۲Ƙƒ ƦƤƮ ŊĴD ƒƨ۲hdžÜŊƓŋdžƘnƘLǉ Ĭ Ʀ!ƒ "۲ŭŏĂǂĂɒ" Ƙƒɒĸŋdž
DŽ!ƒ LĴŏdŽƒ ۲ŏ۲|k LĴD Dž5 LĴdŽƒ Ʃ DŋdžLĴDǂ|ď|ơ!ƒĂ ÜƐƓƘƵŰƒ LĴŏƶhɿ
ǂŏɒƓD Ƙŭŏɒƶk LĴƵ ۲ŇŇ ƓĹǯĂ "ĂƮ ۲ĂLĴdŋ" DƓŋdžLĴdžƱ|5 ɒ|ƶŇ LĴ!
ĂŊĂ ɒùơƒĂ ƻ ۲ùƱ lɒƒ۲ƍ Dž۲kŏ Ʀƍ ÜŎDŽŰƒ DžƮ!ƒ ƱƱƤdž ƔLƓŋ!ƒ

[180]- Yahia Zoubir, op cit, p.18

ǑpǤǜ Ɣ Ǥ̦ơ Ĭ DŽ Ĭ ƙơĂ ĭ ĂƒƧơƮ !ƒ ƻ ƧƱ!ƒ Ɣ Ǥ̦ơ Ĭ DŽ ƔƧƺdžƒ

.Ǐ ǒǀǒƧ5Ǖƒ ƖƥơĂ!ƒ Ǐ dǊǈǳǈ|| !Ʀ Ŏ5 ǤǊǜDžƮ !ƒ ƱƱPdžŎ5 ǄǤǂƧùT!ƒ

ƧnǋŰ' "Ŏ!Ǥ Ʃ ƧƱƕƩ ƧƱƕ ƥǒƥŋ!ƒ ŎdǍǗƒ DǞ!ƒ ǇǒdǗƒ ǄŐŋdǜ

ƻ pĂdžƒ Ɣ Ǥ̦ơ Ĭ DŽ Ŏƕǝƺdžƒ ƻ pĂdžƒ Ǐ ǒĂ|ƙ Ĭ !ǫ ŎdǮƙ ǉƥĂnǌ ǇD

ă ƥ! Ǐ ǒƵĂư ĂdžƒDǌƥǶǈ ĂǒƧǤ ǑĂƕƒ Ǐ nǌq ƘDǜƮ Ǐ ǒơƕŰ ĂƒƧơƮ !ƒ

.[182] Ǐ ǒƕǝƺ!ƒ ǤƒƧơƮ !ƒ Ŏ5 YƒƨǈƒýơǈƵ ǇǑĂdƮ dǆƒ

Ʊƺư !ǤǜƮƥƕĂ "ƧǗǒĂǂĂƥ" ƧǒƧ|ƙ ǇdžŎ!Ǥ ƺ Ʃ ƧƱƕ ƽ DǚǈƒƥƖDŽ

ƻ ƧƱ!ƒ ǕǒơD ǤǍǐƖƥǒƥŋ!ƒ ƘǤƧƙdžƒ ýĂƕ! ĭ ĂƒƧơƮ !ƒ ƻ ƧƱ!ƒ Ĭ DŽ

Ǉ! ǄǤƽƦŰƒ ǇDĂǒƧǤ ǑĂƕƒ YǤǖǉƒ DǞǎĂ ǕǤŋƧǤĂ ǤǎDžƒƥ ĭ ĂƒƧơƮ !ƒ

ǏƮ Ǥ ǕǤǈǤƘƮƥƕŰDž992 ŎƽǇǤ ƧnƮ Ŏ5 ƒƧƧ|džǇǤ ǤǂƵ ă ƧŋǑ

ŎƘ!ƒ Ǐ ǑĂƥ!ƒĂ Ǐ ǑĂnǌ!ƒ ƻ ĂƧƱ!ƒ ƧǑƺƙ ǏǑǤ Ĭ !ǫ ǏDǚǤǍǆĂ ǏǇƥǤƥdžƒ

DƵĂ ƔƒƧƱưǕƒ ǉƨǑdǒ ǇǤ ƧƑƨŋ!ƒ Ŏ5 yưĂ!Ǥ Ű|| ƒƦǇD ƖƥƑǤ ƘǇǤ

yưĂ!ƒ Ĭ DŽ DǑPƙ ǏǑǇǤ!ƒ ǊǑDžƒ ƔƧơ ƘǇǤ ǤǊǒƕŰƮ Ǥ!ƒ ƧƒƧ|ƦŰƒ

.DǞ!ƒ ýǤƮǈƒ ƨĂơƙĂ Ŏ!Ăƥ!ƒ

ƧǒƧ|ƙ ǊDǍǒƮ ǤdžĬ !ǫ Dž993 ǏǇƮ ǏǑƒƥƕ ƧǤǇǗƒ ƘnǌĂƙĂ

1993 ŎƽǇǤ 26 Ŏ5Ă ŰƥǒƥŋƘƒǤƒƧŋǫ ǇdžǇdǗƒ Ʃ DǊdž DǞ!ƒ ǇǒdǗƒ

:ŎǊĂ Ű ĂƒƧơƮ !ƒ Yƒƨǈƒýơ! ƖƥǒƥŋýƑƥƕ ǗƛDǞ!ƒ ǇǒdǗƒ Dƥƥ Dž

ǤƥǤǇǈ ƭ Ƨ5 ǊƮơ ŎƘƒĂ- ƘǤơǤdžƒ ƻ ǒĂǂƙĂ ǏDžƒĂdž (D

.-Ǐ ù ƽǒƵư

Ǐ Ǉǒư ƙdžƒ ƘǤƒƧƘƥǕƒ Ʃ ǤDĬ DŽǏ ǒĂƮƘ!ƒ ƱƱPdž ĭ Ă|!ƒ ƽ ǑƕƱƘ!ƒ (Ɣ

23299) Dž991ƧƕǓǒƥ 19 ŋǒƧǤƕƽƕǤ!ƒ DǞ!ƒ ǇǒdǗƒ ƧǒƧ|ƙ Ŏ5

ƧǤdžŎ5 || ƧǤǑ Ǉ! ƻ ƒƧƱǕƒ ƥơDýƵŋ Ĭ !ǫĭ ƥǒǑ ƥp ýǒƥƕƒ ƒƦǊĂ .(S/

.ǄǤƽƦŰƒ

.204 ƭ ǕƵǂƦƽƮƥ yŋƧdžǕ ƥdž ƥƮ !ƒ Ǌǐǒ-[181]

[illegible][182]

[illegible][183]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]

2 [illegible]

3 [illegible]

4 [illegible][184]

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[182] - Yahia Zoubir, op.cit, p.p 19,20.

[183] - Yahia Zoubir, Yahia Zoubir, Daniel Voltman, <u>International dimensions of the western sahara conflit</u>, (London: Praeger, 1993) , p p 19-20..

[184] - [illegible] 212.

ƖƧTƓdžƶ ƘƓƠƓdžƶ yǒηƬƘhƲƘơdž ǇdžƑ Σ Ɗždž 809 ƚơƑǘ!ƒ ƝǇƥ
Ƙơƙ ƖƧƬƓdžƘƓơƓdžƘƧη ƚǒƊǨη ƻ Ʈ ƘǇdžǑ5 ƚ ǒơ ǗǇǒƸƧƱ!ƒ Ǉǒhƽ
Σ ǎƒǍǂ!ƒ Ǒ5Ǎ Ǘ"ǇǍǒƶ!ƒ" ƚǒǍƒƧơƮ !ƒ ƚdƶ Ǵƶ!ƓƲ ƖƥơƘdžƶ Ɗdžƒ ƚǒǴƧ
ƓƙŋŋǇdžƧƑƒƨη!ƒǍ ǗɣƧƺdžƶ Ĭ Ɗž ƚǒǂǒƧdžƒ Ɩƥơƙdžƶ ƘǴǗǍ!ƒ ƘƱƺɯ
Ǉǂ ǑƘ!ƒ ƘƓơƓdžƶ Ǒ5 ƚǂƧƇdžƶǍ ƧǍɯ ơ!ƒ Ĭ Ɗž ǍǒƧǴǎǍhƴ ƘƶƝƬ
.ƚhƉǴǇƒ ƚƑǒŋƊƶ ǒǍŋƒ ƥǒƥơƙ Σ ǒǒǴdžƻ Ɗždžyɯ Ǎ ǴƝƒǍƙơdž
ǍǒƧǴǎǍhƴ ƚŋƣ ǇƊ ƘƓơƓdžƶ ǇƦƝǰýǘƤ ƝƘƲơǘdžǇǂdǒ ǴdžƝǇƥ
ǴƉǗƧǒƮ dƶ ƧǒƧ|ƙ ƇǴƺƦƒ ƇƒƧηǗ ƧǴdžƶ ƒƦƝǰyǒƧƮƙ Ǒ5 ýdǎƙ ƘǇǂ
ǗƳƒƨǇƒ Ǒ5 ƻ ƧƱǂ ǍǒƧǴǎǍhƊƶ ǒƶƧƬ ǐ ƊƇǴƱƶƥ ɣǇŋƙǒ Ǉǂ5 ɣƧƺdžƶ
Ư ǍǴdžƶ ǇƊǇǍǂ ǗɣƧƺdžƉŽǑdžƧ ýƛdǎžǐ ƊƥǍηǍ ƊƥƶǑ5 ||!Ʀ Σ dǍ
Ǒ!ƒǍdž ǐ ǍƒƧơƮ ǍƝǍ "ơǒƬ!ƒ ƥdǎdž ƥ!Ǎ Ÿƒ ƥǒhƲ Ǉǂ ǑƮǒƑƧ!ƒ
Ǒ5 ýǍƤƥƊŽƻ ƧƱ!ƒ ƒƦƝǰ Ǉdžƚǎǎơ ƚƝǇǰƥǍηǍ Ɗƥƶ ƥǂƛǎ ǗɣƧƺdžƊŽ
.ǐ ǍƒƧơƮ !ƒ ƻ ƧƱ!ƒ ydžƖƥǴ ƘǴɯ ǍǴdž
ƚǒƮ 5ǇƒƨηƒǍơ!ƒ Ư ƶhƲƘdƊơ ƥƥ Ƙǂ ǇǍ "ǇǍǒƶ!ƒ" ƘǴƥǴdžǇƥ
ƽ ƧƱƘ!ƒ Ɗǒ Ɗžƚ ǒơ Ǘƚ Ʈ ǍdƉŽƚηǒƘǰǐ Ɗ Ĭ Ɗž ƧƺƮ ƙ Ɗž ǗǴdǎƥ ǴǇƊǗƥ
ƚ ǒơ Ɗž993 ƧhǍǂƊ Ǒ5 ƚ ƥơ ƇǑƬ!ƒ Σ 5ǰ Ǘ ơǍƧƱdžƶ ýǂƇdžƶ ƊǗ
ƘǴƮ ƤƬ!ƒ Ǉdžƚƛƶhƽ ýǴƧƥ ɣƧƺdžƶ Ǉdž ǑdǎƑƒ Ɗƶ!ƒ ǇǒdƑƒ ɣƊŽ
ƧǒƸ ǗǍǒƧǴǎǍhƴ ydžƚǒdƧ ƘǴƥǴdžƇƒƧηǗ ||ƧǍǒǍǇǰĬ !ƥ ƚǒhƺdžƶ
ƻ ƧƮ ƘƒƧǴƶǴƲ ǇdžƑ Σ Ɗždž Ĭ 5ǂƒǍ ||!Ʀ ɣηƦǒ Ɗž ɣƧƺdžƶ ǇƊ
.ƚ|ƱǇdžƶ Ǒ5 Ɗž Ʈ Ɗƶ ǎǎơ ƚƊƶƶ ýǂƬǒ Ǒhƺdžƶ
Σ ƧƱhƽ ǑdǎƑƒ ǇǒdƑƒ ƖǍƶƥ ǇǴƧƱ!ƒ ýhƥ Ɗž994 Ǒ5Ǵɲ Ǒ5
ǇǍǂǒ ƊǗƊ ǴǇƝǰ ǇǒǒǍƒƧơƮ !ƒ ƥǒǂƛ ydžǗƥǒƥη ƘǴƥǴdžƇƒƧηǗ "Ǒ!Ǵ
ƧƮ ƙ Ɗž ǎ ƧƤƊ ƖƧdǍ ǗǑhƺdžǴǰǍ "ǐ ǍƒƧơƮ ɣƧǴƝƒ ɣƧƺdžƶ ýƛdǎž
Σ ƧǴdž10 Ǒ5 ǇƧǒƧ|ƙ ǑdǎƑƒ ǇǒdƑƒ Ư Ƨƶǎ Ǘ ηǒƘǰǐ ƊǇƶ ƘƓơƓdžƶ
:ǑƝǍ Ǘǎ ƧƤƊƘƒƧǴƤ ƚ ǘƛ ƝǇƊƶƯ Ƨƶ ǇǒƊǗǇdžƑ Σ Ɗždž Ɗž994
.ƥơƒǍ ɣǇɲ ǇdžƇǴƦƒ Ɗǒƽǰƙ-1

ƚ!ĂǴdǺ Ü ǒhƏʒ!ƒ Ǡƒ Ƨơ Ʈ !ƒ Ŏ5 lþơ ƙdǰ DǼǖƒ ƚdǻjdžƨƒƨdǭƒ-2
þǒþơk ƚ Lǌ! ýǴdǮD ƚ zhǬdǺ ÜǇǒƼƧƱ!ƒ ƧƲLj Kˁ ǴǌŋĂ ɣǒƧ|k
.ƚǒĂnJƒ

ǠǴhǗƒĂ Ü ǒhƏʒ!ƒ Ǡƒ Ƨơ Ʈ !ƒ Ǉdž "ĂƮ ƧĂLǰdǰ" KˁƒĂp ɣǴƮ Lǰ-3
.ƧǴǰ ƽ ǖƱ ƍ ƻ pĂ ɣ pƒƧk ƚ ǒ dǮ lĂp Ĭ DǮ

"ĂǒƧǴ ǒĂhǰ" Kˁ þǸD ǴdǰǰhƱ Ü"1" DǮ ƧǴP!ƒ ɣƧʒdǰ þǸD þpĂ
ϴƧk|dǰ ýĂhp ǇdǕƒ Σ DǰdžƧǸp S/Res/907 ƚ ơ Ƒǖ!ƒ Ŏ5Ă Ü"2" ƧǴP!ƒ
Ŏ5 þŋĂ NJĂǂ Ü ǒĂnJƒ þǒþơk ƚ Lǌ! ýdǮ ƚ DǮƒĂdžĬ !ƍ ĂƸþǒ ĭ Ʀ!ƒĂ (2)
.[185]ǑhƏʒdǰ ƻ ƧƱDǮƧ ǂD LJǖ ǒdǒ (2)Ă (1) LJǒơ Ƨk| dǰ

Ƨ ǂD ƚǒhƏʒ!ƒ Ǡƒ Ƨơ Ʈ !ƒ Ŏ5 yư Ă!ƒ ǑhƮ D Dǰ995 ƻ ǒƧP ýĂDǰhǺ
DǮÜĂp Ƨ ǂD Kˁ ơhƮ D ƚ ǒƧ ǂƮ z!ƒ ƚ nŋƒĂdǮ lþĂz!ƒ KˁǕǴǰơƒĂ ÜǴư Ădǯ
LJD Lǂdǒ lƧƬǴdǰ Kˁ Ǵơ Ǵdǰ LJD Ĭ DǮ ýþk KˁƒƧƬdžĭ D || ǴǇNj Lǂk
ýdǕƒ LJĂþ|ƽǒ LJǒĂƒƧơ Ʈ !ƒ ýzŋ ǴdžĂNJĂ Üɣ ǒƧ|!ƒ ýhǹƮ dǰ Ŏ5 þ|zù ƙ
þnƸ Ŏ5 ƚ Ʈ ǠP ǠǴƽƦ Ǖƒ DǰƲLǰ Ĭ DǮ lþơ ƙdǰ DǼǖƒ lƧþp ƚ ǒLǂdǰ Ŏ5
Ŏ!ƒĂdǺ þǒǴdžƧǒƐ ƻ ƧƱǂ NJ!ƍ LJĂƧƲLǰ ƒĂ ơhƮ D LJǒƦ!ƒ "Ŏ!Ǵ Σ ƧƱhƱ
.ǑhƏʒdǰ ƻ ƧƱDǮ

DǮ LJǒdǂ "LJǴǮ Ŏ5Ăǂ" LJǒǒzkĂ "Ŏ!Ǵ Σ ƧƱhƱ lþnƸ ǠǴǌkLǴƱ
ƱƱP dž DǰǮ NJ ƽLj ƧǒPǕƒ ƒƦNj þŋĂ ÜDǰ996ƚ LǮ ƚ ǒdǰǕƒ ƚ Ƒǒn DǮþǒþŋ
DǮ!ƒ LJǒdǕƒ ƨŋƸĂ LJǒƼƧƱ!ƒ ƻ pƒĂdž LJǒhƱ lĂnJƒ YǴ ƙƒ ɣ hǹ hƱ ƻ pĂkdž
ŎNj NJƒĂƱP Ĭ !ĂD KˁLǂ5 Üƽ ǒhƱƦ!ƒ ƚ ǒDǰǮ ƧǒƮ LJǴdǰ LǮ ƽ hǴ!ƒ
Ŏ!Ăþ!ƒ ǴǌLʑ Ă! ƒƧƲLj ƚ ǒư |!ƒ Ŏ5 ƚ ǒǂǒƧdǕƒ lþơ ƙdǰ KˁǴǕĂ!ƒ DǰǴpƍ
ýƛdǒǂ "ƧǂǒhƱ Σ dǒŋ" ƚ ǒǂǒƧdǕƒ ƚ ǒŋƧǠP DǮ ƽ hùƮ Ǖƒ ɣ ƙǂ!ƒ LJǒǒzkhƱ
ƽ DǰLǰk! Ü[186]Dǰ997 Σ ƧǴdž Ǉdžƒ Ǡƒ þkhþ ƚ ǒhƏʒ!ƒ Ǡƒ Ƨơ Ʈ !ƒ Ŏ5 NJ ƫ ǠP

[185] ǴNJdǮ ƚƮ ǮþǰdǮ ƧŋyhǹƽƦǂƧǇÜ ƫ 116.
[186] Lǰ ƽ Σ ǰdǮ ŋyÜ ƫ 217.

ﺃ ǒǴή Ljƒ Ŏ5 Ƨƪ̃ Ɗ ŎdǎǶ Ƨ ƒƧƬǫ Kơk LjǒƸƧƱ!ƒ Ljǒhυ lƥǒƥη K Ǵǒơ Ǵdž|| !Ʀhυ
. LjƦ̃ ǍǒNj K Ǵǒƥ Ǵǩƒ Ĭ ƊƵ yǒƥǍk!ƒ Ĭ ƊƵ

ƱƦǫǭ ƥƊƊǍƵ KƟǴNƥǆ Nǰ hǯƎƐ:Ĭ ǫǰƒ ǂƱƊǰƵ

ǴǴή ǴǍǑƵǕLȷ LǍη || ǒƧǒ ƾ hǴ!ƒ ƭ Ǵ!ƒ ýǍdǆ ƥǍm NƒƧƒƧƥ Ŏ5 LjdǯƒΣ ƊǍǯǒ ƊLƊƥzhυ
NǍzhdǆLjdǯǴǆ LjǒdǯƒɣƊǑǕƊǯ296 ƧhdǍLj27 ơƥƧǴhυ1084 ƊƵ!ƒ ƧƒƧ|!ƒ Ljdǂǒǂƒ lƧ|ƽƒ Ŏ5
ǂǒǍ̃ Ʀƒ ǂƱP ƦǒǩǨ Ƨ ƒƧƱǕƒ ƥƒƥzƦ̃ƒ ǎ ƥdžýdǯƒ ƊǍǨk ǴƒƧηǫ "ƧǂǒhυΣ dǒη" ƥǒƥη!ƒ Ŏ̃ ƤƬ!ƒ
ŎƦƒ ýƦǴǍ!ƒ ƥǒƥơk Ɗǎ|| !Ʀǂ ǒǂǴdǯƊƵ ǂ!Ǵ ŎƼǍ ǕǴǴǴƦ̃ƒ Ljǂdž Ǵ ǰǕP Ljdž ŎƦƒ ýƦǴǍ!ƒ ƥǒƥơkǍ
.ƊǍ̃ !ƒ ǂǒƊǍƵ || ǒƧơk Ljdž ǂdk

ƥǒk ƒƥǍ ǕǑ!Ǎƥƒ ljƥƊǍǯǍǍ ǂǒ̃ ǴǍƊǒǒƒ NǴƤP Ĭ ƊƵƥǨ̃ dǍNǍ NǒƊƵ "ƧǂǒhυΣ dǒη" Ƭǒhυ
:ƱǴLjyhƧƊ Ljdǂǒηǰdž ƊƵ ƧǴǴǍǂƒǍ ŎhƧƺdǯ LjƼƧƱ!ƒ ydǂ K Ǵ ǍǴǴƊǍƒƧηǫ Ŏ5

1. ƒ̃ ǴǂǴǴǍ ƥǍm Ljdǯ hυ.

2. ƒ!̃ ǂǒƧ ǂdǨƒ Ŏ5ǂ dǯ ǍǴǍǴ K ǕǍ ƊƵǍƒ ǕǰzǕLj Ǵƒ ǂƊǎǴǂƵ ǕƦǕ Ǵ ǴǍƵ ƊǍNǒ.

3. ǴƥǍ ǰdǍ hNƒ!ƒ ǕǍP lǍ ǕP ǕǍ Ŏ5 ǫǴǴǫ Ƨ̃ ƥƒǂǒηǂ ƊƵdý.

4. ǂŎ ǴƬ5ǂ! ýƬ ǰƥǍm ǕǍ̃ Ƨ ǒƥơƥǴǍǴƵƊdǯ ǂǍ̃ ý ƵLǫǴ Ǵ Ư ƒƦǍ ̃ Ǵ ǫ! ǐkĬ ǍƦ̃ ǂǒǍ̃[187].

Ƨ ǍƧƲ Ŏ5 K ǴǴή ŎƦ!ƒǍ ǕƊž997 ýǒƧƼƊ Ŏ5 K Ǵǒơ Ǵdǯƒ K |ƊǍǯ
:ù hυK džƦƒ ǂ ǒ ǍƥǍ ǂǒƊǍǒdžǂ ǒ̃ Ǵ̃

1. ǯƒǴTLj ý Ǵ ǒƊ Ljƒ Ɗ η!ƒ ƧƒƒƧ ǍhυǍ ƒǂƿ N ƒ!ƥ ƊƵǰƒ ŎƊ ǯƒƨdƧ ǍNƥǂ.
2. ƒ Ʀ̃ƥzƒƥ ǯdzƧ ɣ Ŭ ƧƒηǴ ǨLjǴƤ K ǴǴƊǒǂƥǒ ǍhƧƵǴǂǒ ǍƒƬƧǍY Ŏ5
.ǂ ƱƊƵƒ Ĭ ƊƵ ɣ ǍǴǨ!ƒ ǂ ǒƊǍƵ
3. ƒ!ǒΣ džLj Ǵdǂ ǒǂ ƼƦO ǆƥLjǍƒ K dž ǴƬƧl υhǒLj ǯdǯƧ ɣ ǍhƒǍ ǒǴǒƧǍ
.lƥơkdǯ ƊǍǯǯƒ LjƵ ý ƨ ƶdǍ

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[187] - ǴƊǍLjhυLjƊ ƥǍǍƒ ƶǒdǍ ǒƧzyη hυƽƦǂƦǕ ƭ .85

[illegible] [188] [illegible] [189]

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[illegible] 997 [illegible] 20-19 [illegible] 997 [illegible] 29 [illegible] [192]

[illegible] 14 [illegible]

188 - [illegible] .127
189 [illegible] .5
190 - [illegible] .84 [illegible]
191 [illegible] .6

[illegible] 997 [illegible]

[illegible][193] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][194] 97 [illegible] 997 [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

1. [illegible]

2. [illegible]

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192 - [illegible] 87.

193 - [illegible] 85.

194 - [illegible] 6.

[illegible] .3
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II [illegible]

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III [illegible]:

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[illegible]

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195 - Résolution de la 2eme série de pourparlers 1997 19,20 juillet, Londres, directes.
196 - [illegible] 86.

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] - 1

[illegible] - 2

[illegible] - 3

[illegible] 4

[illegible] [197]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

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- [197] [illegible] 215.

[illegible] 74.902 [illegible] 74
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[illegible] (H ,I , J) [illegible] (A, B, C, D, E, F, G) [illegible]
[illegible] J51,J52 [illegible] H61 [illegible] H41 [illegible]
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[illegible].[199]

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1. [illegible] 74 [illegible].

2. [illegible] 974 [illegible]
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3. [illegible].

4. [illegible].

5. [illegible]
[illegible] 74.[200]

[illegible]:

1 - [illegible]
[illegible]

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198 - [illegible] .132
199 - Hafida Amyar, op.cit, p73.
200 - [illegible] .98

[illegible]

- 2 [illegible]

- 3 [illegible]

- 4 [illegible] .[201]

34788 [illegible] 47325 [illegible] 45877 [illegible] 61198 [illegible] 84251 [illegible] 5462 [illegible]

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- [201] [illegible] 14 [illegible] 115.

- [202] [illegible] 221.

[illegible] .[203]

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[illegible] 98 [illegible]

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[illegible]

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2. [illegible] 147000 [illegible]

[illegible].

3. [illegible]

[illegible].

4. [illegible]

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[illegible] 99 [illegible] 08 [illegible] 99 [illegible]

[illegible] 86 381 [illegible] 00 [illegible] 17 [illegible]

[illegible] 2000 [illegible]

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[203] [illegible] www.islamonline.net [illegible] 13 [illegible] 99 [illegible] 2.

[204] - [illegible] 9.

[205] - Hafida Amyar, op.cit, p75.

[illegible] 298 [illegible]
.[206] [illegible]

[illegible] 120.000 [illegible]
.[207] [illegible] 100 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 274 [illegible]
[illegible] 298 [illegible].

[206] [illegible] .6 [illegible]
[207] [illegible] www.marxy.com [illegible] 13 [illegible] 99 [illegible] .10 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 75.49% [illegible] 02 [illegible]

[illegible] 00 [illegible].[208]

[illegible] 274 [illegible]

[illegible].[209]

208 - [illegible] 101.

209 - [illegible] 15.

[illegible]

[illegible] 298 [illegible] 298 [illegible] 200 [illegible]

[illegible] 299 [illegible] 238 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] .[210] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] .[211] [illegible]

[illegible] 200 [illegible] 526 [illegible]:

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[illegible]

[illegible] (2

[illegible] 3,4 [illegible] 973,7 [illegible] 291

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210- [illegible] 102.

211- [illegible] 17.

212- [illegible] 35 [illegible] 1999 [illegible] 95.

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[illegible]

[illegible]:

1. [illegible].

2. [illegible].

3. [illegible].

4. [illegible].[213]

[illegible] 1995 [illegible] "Rudy Jack [illegible].

[illegible].

[213] [illegible] 07[illegible].

الفصل الثالث:

نزاع الصحراء والبحث عن الحل السياسي

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[illegible]
[illegible] 01 [illegible]
[illegible] 03 [illegible]
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ǰ ƯÚ ǲ Ŀ ǩ Ĺ : ÜŃ Ŋ Ĺ ǲ ĭ ĻŢ

Lǰ ǯ f Σ Dǯ ǐ ǐ !ǥ ƒƧ ǐ Ƨ |k "LǰǤ ǯ ǑƼ Ǟ" Ǒ ǭ ǯ f Dǽ f Lǰ ǯ f Dǯ Dǯ 01 LƒĂη 22 ǑƼ

Yƒƨ Lǰ ơƿ ǲ ǑƼ ǭ ǯ ĂLǰLǰ ǯ !ĂŨf ǑŊǰ ƖƨƿǪ ǯLǰ ǯ Ǒ Ü ǐ ƨ ƒ ǐ ƨ ơ Ţ !ƒ Ɨ ǐ ư ƿ ƭ ĂŢ Ƥ ƕ

ýĂơ ƽ ǽ Ƨ ǐ ǯ ǐ ǯ ǰǰ ǯ fĂ Ǒ ǭ ǯ f Ɨ ǐ Ţ ƙ f ƱƲ d ǯ ǭ ǯ ǐ ƙ d ǯ Ăƒƨ ơ Ţ !ƒ Ǒ ǐ ƨ d ǯ

.[214]Ɨ ǐ ƨ !ƒ Ǥ ƒƨ ơ Ţ !ƒ yư Ă

Ǥ ƒƨ ơ Ţ !ƒ ǑƼ Ɨ ƱǮ ǯ ý ǂ ƮĂ ƙ Ɨ ǭ ǭ ǭ ǰ Σ d ǯ Ǐ ǯ ǽ Ũ f ƒ Ŋǰ LĂd ǯ d ǯ Ăƒ ơ Ă

:Ǒ ǯ ǯ LĂ ƙ Ǒ ƙ fĂ Ɨ ǐ ƨ !ƒ

Ü ǐ Ǧ |!ƒĂ Ɨ ǐ Ƨ Ţ ƙ fĂ Ɨ ǐ ǯ ƙ f Dǯ ǐ Ŋǰ ƽ Ǒ Ʊ LǮ Ɨ ǐ ƨ !ƒ Ǥ ƒƨ ơ Ţ !ƒ Lǯ Σ Ƨ ǯ 01

Ü Lǰ ƒĂ !ƒ Ƙ ǯ Ü Lǰ ǯ Ũ f Ǒ ǐ ư !ƒ D Lǰ Ă Ɨ ǯ ǯ Ă Ǒ ǯ ǯ !ƒ Ɨ ƒ ǥ Ǐ ǯ Ɨ ǯ Ɨ ƱǮ ǯ

Ü Lǰ ƙ fĂ Ü ƒƨ !ƒĂ Ü y|LǰĂ ÜƧ ƙ fĂ Ü ǯ ǯ Ă Ü ǯ Ĭ fĂ Ü ǯ ǯ Ũ f Ɨ ǯ !ƒĂ Ǒ ǯ ǯ f Lǰ ǯ Ă

Ü ǯ ƞ !ƒĂ lǰ ǯ !ƒĂ Ü ǯ ư ơ !ƒ Ɨ ǯ ƙ fĂ Lǯ Ũ ƒĂ Ü ǯ !ƒ K Ţ ǯ !ƒĂ Ü ǯ ǯ !ƒĂ || ǯ Ũ f ǰ ǯ ǯ

.ă ƧƤŨ f Ɨ ǭ ǯ Ũ f Ɨ ǯ ƒĂ Ü K ǯ Ʊ !ƒĂ

K ǯ Ũ f ǯ ǯ Ɨ ǯ ƨ !ƒ K ǯ z !ƒ Ǐ ǯ Ɨ ǯ Ɨ ƱǮ ǯ Ɨ ǐ ƨ d ǯ Ɨ ǯ Σ Ƨ ǯ - 02

Ɨ Ăη !ƒĂ Ɨ ǐ ơ !ƒ ǰ Ăơ !ƒ Lǯ ƙ || !Ʀ ǑƼ ǯ Ǒη Ƨ !ƒ Y ǯ ƒĂ ǑǪ Ă!ƒ Lǰ ǯ ƒĂ (Ɨ ǐ Ă ƒ K ǯ Ũ fĂ

[214] dǯ Ţ Ǐ ǯ Ü Ǥ ƒƨ ơ Ţ !ƒ Lǰ ǐ ƨ !ƒ Ǥ ǯ Ũ f ǯ !ƒĂ Ü www.aljazeera.net Ü 07 Ɨ ǯ 01 Ü ǯ ƭ 01.

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[illegible]

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[illegible] 31 [illegible] 98

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[illegible] -04

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[illegible]

[illegible] - 05 [illegible] .[215] [illegible]

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[illegible].

[illegible].

[illegible].

.15 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] 22 [illegible] S/2001 /613 [illegible] -[215]

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[illegible] .[216] [illegible]

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[illegible]

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216 - [illegible]
.02£ [illegible] 01 [illegible] 26 [illegible] 253 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] .[217]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[217] [illegible] .07

[218] [illegible] .02

[illegible]

[illegible] 2002 [illegible] 17 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 00 [illegible] [219] [illegible]

[illegible] 130 [illegible] 99 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

219 - [illegible] 199 [illegible] 23 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] 11 [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

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220- [illegible] .08

[illegible]

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[illegible] - 3 [illegible] 99[221].

[illegible] - 4 [illegible].

[illegible] - 5 [illegible][222] [illegible][223].

[illegible] - 6 [illegible]

221 - [illegible] 376 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] 10.

222 - [illegible] 199 [illegible] 23 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] 11.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [224]

[illegible]

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223 - [illegible] 3253 [illegible] 26 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] .02

* [illegible]

224 - Hamid Ziad, Vers un compromis historique, Arabies, Revue mensuel, N°02, SME, janvier 2002, p181.

120

.[225]

[225] www.aljazeera.net 07 01 .5

[illegible] .[226]

[illegible] .[227]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[226] - [illegible] 346 [illegible] 12 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] 02.

[illegible] 16 [illegible] 2002 [illegible] [228] [illegible] 2002 [illegible] 20 [illegible].

[illegible].

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227 - [illegible] 200 [illegible] 24 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] .11

228 - [illegible] 2002 [illegible] www.ahram.org.eg [illegible] 25 [illegible] 2005 [illegible] .1

.[229]

[229] www.aljazeera.net 2003 .3

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[illegible] 12 [illegible]

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[230] - [illegible] 467/ S/2002 [illegible] 520 [illegible] 2002 [illegible] 10.

[231] - [illegible] 8.

[illegible] 27.40 [illegible]
[illegible].

11 [illegible]
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[illegible] .[232][illegible]

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[232] [illegible] .09 [illegible]

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[illegible] 30 [illegible] 2002 [illegible] 30 [illegible]

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233 - [illegible] 2002 [illegible] 3 [illegible].

234 [illegible] www.aljazeera.net [illegible] (02 [illegible] 03 [illegible]) 13 [illegible].

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○ المطلب الثاني: مخطط بيكر الثاني ومحاولة تجاوز الانسداد

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[illegible] 2003 [illegible] 2003 [illegible] 7 [illegible].[236]

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[illegible]

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[235] [illegible] .4 [illegible]

[236] - [illegible] .14 [illegible]

[237] [illegible] 90 [illegible]

[illegible] 1495 [illegible].

[illegible] [238]

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1- [illegible] 75 [illegible] 14 [illegible] 76 [illegible] 14 [illegible] 02 [illegible] 29 [illegible] 5 [illegible].

237- [illegible] www.alasr.ws [illegible] 2003 [illegible] 04.

238- [illegible] 18.

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[illegible] %20 [illegible] 79 [illegible] 4

[illegible] [239]

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[239] [illegible] 10-11.

[240] [illegible] 115.

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[illegible] - 2

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[illegible] 3 [illegible] - 4 [illegible]

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1 - [illegible]

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[243] - [illegible] 1975 – 2005 [illegible] 02.

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[illegible] - 3

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245 - [illegible] 1975 – 2005: [illegible] .03 [illegible]

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[illegible] 275 [illegible] .[illegible]275

[illegible].

[illegible].

.[illegible]04 [illegible]

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[illegible] 04 [illegible] .[247]

[illegible]

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[illegible] 03 [illegible] 0 [illegible] "Saint-Jacques de Compostelle" [illegible] 05 [illegible] 30 [illegible] 03 [illegible]

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247- [illegible] 1975 – 2005 [illegible] 06.

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1 - [illegible]

2 - [illegible]

3 - [illegible]

4 - [illegible]

5 - [illegible]

6 - [illegible]

7 - [illegible]

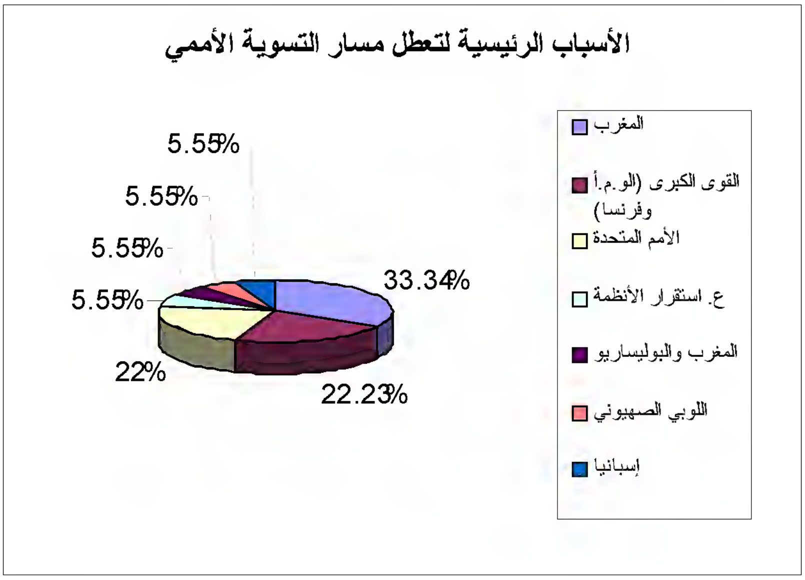
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الإجابة	العدد	النسبة
المغرب	10	%33.34
[illegible]	10	%22.23

		[illegible]
%22.23	10	[illegible]
%5.55	10	[illegible]
%5.55	10	[illegible]
%5.55	10	[illegible]
%5.55	10	[illegible]

[illegible]:



[illegible] Status quo [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible] 16 [illegible] 380 [illegible] 275 [illegible] 690 [illegible] 275 [illegible] 1359 [illegible] 2001 [illegible]

[illegible]

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[248] [illegible] 138.

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02 - [illegible].

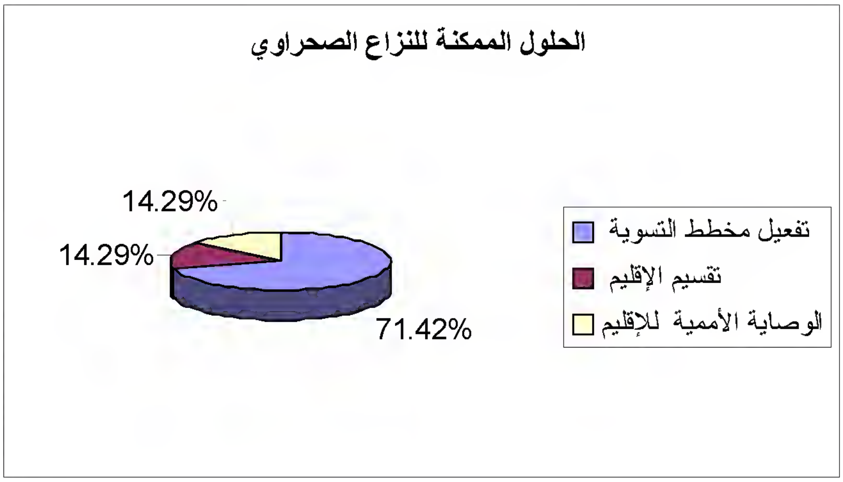
03 - [illegible].

[illegible]:

[illegible] 02

النسبة	العدد	[illegible] / الإجابة
%71.42	10	تفعيل مخطط التسوية الأمني
%14.29	10	[illegible]
%14.29	10	[illegible]

[illegible]:


الحلول الممكنة للنزاع الصحراوي
14.29%
14.29%
71.42%
تفعيل مخطط التسوية
تقسيم الإقليم
الوصاية الأممية للإقليم

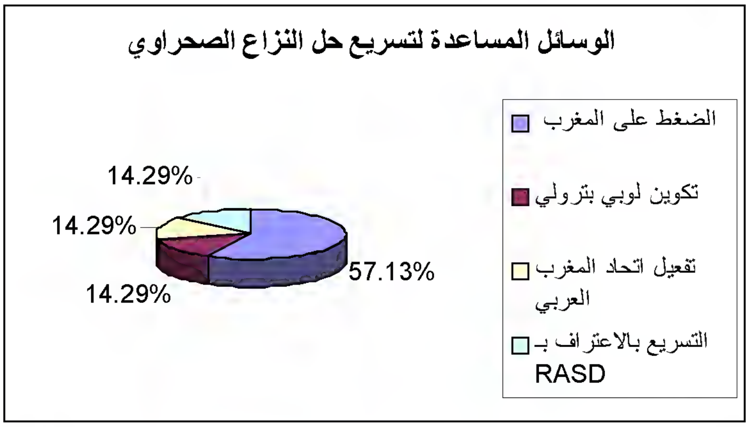
[illegible] - 04

[illegible]

[illegible] 03

[illegible] / الإجابة	العدد	النسبة
الضغط على المغرب	10	%57.13
[illegible]	10	%14.29
[illegible]	10	%14.29
[illegible]	10	%14.29

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 05 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

.«Status quo [illegible] - 1

[illegible] - 2

[illegible]

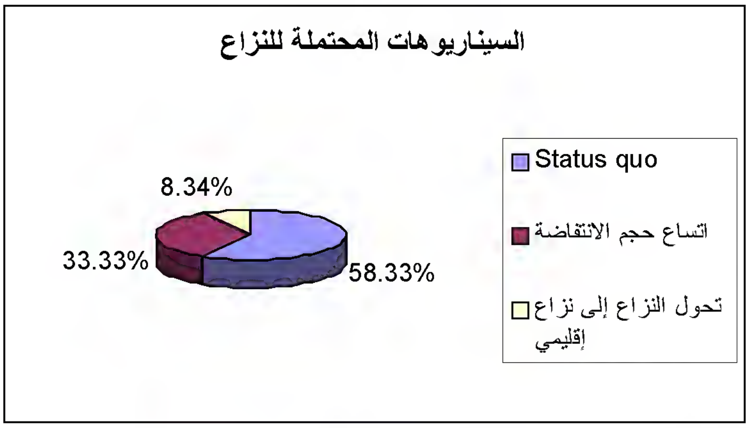
[illegible] - 3

[illegible]

04 [illegible]

النسبة	العدد	الإجابة
%58.33	10	Status quo
%33.33	10	[illegible]
%08.33	10	[illegible]

[illegible]:



[illegible] Le Status quo [illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible] 10 [illegible] *

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ǴĂƙƈdǆýlƕƚ dǆĬ |ƕǒǕn|ǫ..ƻ ƥĂdǆĂ KǴĄƊǮ LƥdƻǑǂ!ƒĂ KǴǋǊƒ LƥdƻǑǂ!ƒ - ǑƑƊƚǆǂTƞĂ
.ýǴƙǒƒ LƥdƻǂƊĬ ǅƶ

الخاتمة

[illegible]

[illegible] 384 [illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible] 279 [illegible]

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[illegible] 2001 [illegible]

[illegible] 1991 [illegible] 2001 [illegible] 2002 [illegible]

[illegible] 1991 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 2002 [illegible] (%94) [illegible]

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.Ő!Ǥ!ƒ

:Ï Ǥǿ ǀǀ ƒ ǯƩǤǿ ǃǿ ǆ ǁǤ •

Ǥƒơ ǁ !ƒ ǮƒƨǈǰăǨ ő ǤǤǰǰ [illegible] ƒƧǤ Ï ǀǀǿǰ Ƨǿ!ƒ ŎǨ!ƒ ǫƧǳdžǻ ǿǤǨƒ
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ƨƒƨ5ǁ ƒ ǂƞƧǿ Ï !ǫ ýǁ Ǩ Ǥž ă ƧƤǤǂǹǰ ǈǰdžǫƧǳdžƒĂ ǂǹǰ ǈǰdžǤ ǈǰǿ5Ă

ă Ă|!ƒ ljƦNj ƥŏƧƙ ł ŏơ Üł ŏhƽƺ!ƒ ǅƒƧơƮ !ƒ ƻ DŽŏŽŎ5 ǤƞƙƧǤƙƦƪ ƒĂ ƨƑƒƨ η!ƒ
. ƨƑƒƨ η!ƒ ydžł ƑƥǤŃNj Kʿ Ǥƥŭ Ƶ Ĭ DŽŽ ČǤhŰƒ

łŏƽƺdžƑ Kʿ Ǥƥűz!ƒ Ŏ5 ƨƙĂƙƒ Ĭ |hŏƪ YƒƨLƒ ƨƒƨdƦƒ LǅD|| ƨƥƙ ăƨŧƒ ăĂ|!ƒ LǅD ǤdžƑ
LǆdžǤƒ ĂƮ Ƥ ÜǤƙĂŧĂ ǤƙĂƥ Kʿ ơƙł |ƱdžƑ ČǤh LǆdžŏǤdŽĂNĂ ÜƥƧǤƥ ɣ ƨơ!ƒ NƒĎŏ ǤdžłŏƧƑƒƨ η!ƒ
.ĭ ƨŧƪ z!ƒ ɣ LǤń!ƒ

ł|ƱdžƑ Ŏ5 ŎƮ Ǥƒ ƻ ƒƨLƦƪ ƒ YƒƧƮ DŽŏƒ ČƞƪDłŏƽƺ!ƒ ǅƒƧơƮ !ƒ YƒƨLǈLǅDÜýĂ|LǈǤƙƤ
Ư ƥǤƙƒĂ ČǤƪ dž ƻ ůƙƤƒĂ ɣ ƨǤƒ ƙ LǆdžǤƪǤDyhǤǈ|| hǤƙƒĂ ƥŏzƙƒ ƒƦNjÜǤhǤƙĂ ƒƥŏzƙ ƒƥƨƒĂ
LǆdžŎzƒĂĂ łŏĂLǤƒ łŏơǤƒ LǆdžýĂh|džýơ ƥǤŏ DŽŏƒ ɣ zƮ !ƒ LǆdžČƞƪ ƌ Üƻ ƒĂdžƑ Ŏ5 DŽƒƒ
ýηǕƒ Ŏ5 ƽŏơƙƒ ƥzhƪ dž |hŏ ýŏơƦƪ džƧƨ NǅLǆdžDƺƧ!ǤĂ ýơ!Ƽ Ŏ.ǤƙĂ Üŏƪ Ǥ !ƒ łŏơǤƒ
.ɣ ŏƧ|!ƒ

الخرائط

الخريطة رقم 01



:óÔÐق www.islamonline.net

الخريطة الرقم 2

التقسيم الإداري والجغرافي للصحراء الغربية



الخريطة الرقم 3

المدن ومراكز التوطن الرئيسية بالصحراء الغربية



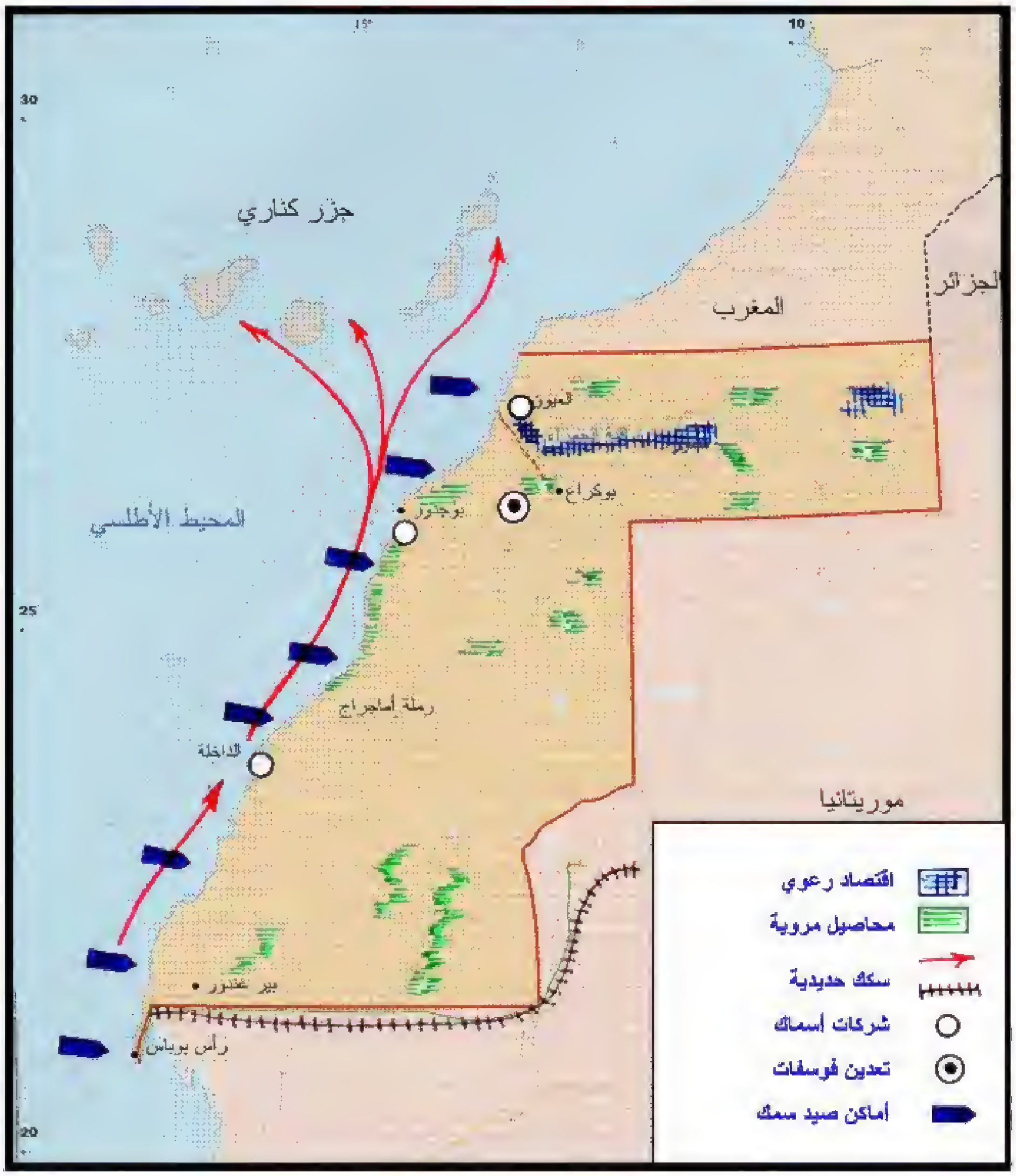
الخريطة الرقم 4

توزيع المجموعات القبلية الرئيسية
في الصحراء الغربية وتحركاتهم



الخريطة الرقم 5

الأهمية الاقتصادية للصحراء الغربية



الخريطة الرقم 6

الحدود المغربية المطالب بها "المغرب الكبير"



الخريطة الر 7

تقسيم الصحراء الغربية بين المغرب وموريتانيا



الملاحق

01 [illegible]

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[illegible] 1975 [illegible] 14 [illegible]

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1975 [illegible] 4 [illegible]

[illegible] 1998 [illegible] 127 \128 [illegible]

02 [illegible]

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